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JANE DAWSON AND LIONEL K.J. GLASSEY

Some Unpublished Letters from John Knox to Christopher Goodman¹

ABSTRACT

The unexpected discovery of five unknown letters from John Knox to his English friend and ally Christopher Goodman, all dating from the period 1566–9, elucidates several aspects of the Scottish Reformer's later career. The provenance and appearance of these letters, four of which survive only as eighteenth-century transcripts, are described in Sections I–IV. Section V discusses the significance of the letters. It is argued that Knox was strongly tempted by the prospect of a mission to Ireland, jointly with Goodman, in 1566; that Goodman persuaded Knox to adopt the radical Puritan position in the English Vestiarian controversy; that Knox became increasingly pessimistic about the ecclesiastical and political situation in Scotland in the late 1560s, notwithstanding the elimination of Mary, Queen of Scots (whom Knox described as 'that cursed Jesabel') from the Scottish scene; that Knox maintained a range of contacts that provided him with extensive and up-to-date information about affairs in England and Ireland as well as in Scotland; and, especially, that Knox retained to the end of his life a perception that the Protestant Reformation constituted a 'British', rather than a specifically Scottish, phenomenon, in which the three countries making up the British Isles were inextricably interlinked as Protestant evangelists of all nationalities worked together to establish the new religion. The letters themselves (with one additional letter derived from the same archival source and written by Knox's secretary Richard Bannatyne to Goodman) are reproduced as accurately as possible in the Appendices.

Approximately one hundred letters written by John Knox were printed in the nineteenth century in David Laing's standard edition of Knox's

¹ We are grateful to the Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service and to Mr Jonathan Pepler, Cheshire County Archivist, for permission to reprint the letter from the Leche of Carden MSS; and to the Denbighshire Record Office, to Mr Kevin Matthias, Denbighshire County Archivist, and to the Plas Power estate for permission to reprint the letters from the Plas Power MSS. We would additionally wish to express thanks to the staff of the Cheshire County Record Office and to the staff of the Denbighshire Record Office for their very helpful efficiency on the occasions of our visits to the respective Search Rooms to consult and transcribe the MSS; and to Professor James Kirk, Mrs Linda Frost and Dr Paul Parvis for their most valuable assistance and advice. Jane Dawson would additionally wish to thank the British Academy for the award of a Small Research Grant to facilitate her work on the Goodman papers.

Works.² It is not certain which is the earliest;³ the latest is dated 7 September 1572. Many of these letters had earlier been published by Knox himself, or by Calderwood or M'Crie or both.⁴ Others had been tracked down by Laing in the British Library (then the British Museum), the National Archives (then the State Paper Office and subsequently the Public Record Office), and elsewhere. Laing accompanied his account of his researches with the reflection:

It is by no means improbable that a few more letters of the Scottish Reformer are in existence, and may still be recovered; yet I can say that there is no likely quarter for discovering such letters, either at home or abroad, that has not been more or less carefully examined.

Laing had undoubtedly worked energetically to find more of Knox's correspondence. He tried without success to identify a collection of letters, allegedly including some from Knox, described in the early nineteenth century by the Durham antiquarian R.S. Surtees as surviving at Streatlam Castle; and he reported his failure to discover new Knox material in various private collections in Scotland, in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and at Geneva and Zürich.⁵

I

Only one of the letters printed by Laing is from Knox to Christopher Goodman, the English Puritan clergyman who had been Knox's erstwhile colleague at Geneva and who became his lifelong friend; this is dated 19 July 1572.⁶ More of Knox's correspondence with Goodman has now surfaced: one original, holograph, letter; an eighteenth-century transcript of the same letter; and eighteenth-century transcripts of four more letters for which no originals survive. All five letters are of the greatest value, in that they illustrate Knox's view of the ecclesiastical and political condition of Scotland and England at the time when they were written. They are accompanied by many more documents or transcripts of documents relating to both Knox and Goodman, and are to be found among the Leche of Carden MSS in the Cheshire County Record Office (the holograph letter) and the Plas Power MSS in the Denbighshire Record Office (the eighteenth-century transcripts). This material is linked together by the circumstance that it all derives ultimately from the papers of the Leche family of Carden Hall, a few miles to the south-east of Chester.

² D. Laing (ed.), *The Works of John Knox*, 6 vols (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 1895) [cited hereafter as Knox, *Works*], iii. 337-402; iv. 217-53, 261-86; v. 5-6; vi. 11-148, 525-632.

³ J. Ridley, *John Knox* (Oxford, 1968), 538-44; Appendix IV, 'The Date of Knox's Letters to Mrs Bowes'.

⁴ Knox, *Works*, i-ii (Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*); D. Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, 8 vols, ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1842-9); T. M'Crie, *The Life of John Knox*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1813).

⁵ Knox, *Works*, vi. 7-10, 523-4.

⁶ Knox, *Works*, vi. 618-19; also printed in Calderwood, *History*, iii. 114; and M'Crie, *Life*, ii. 395-6.

The original letter, all in Knox's own hand, was written in October 1566, when Knox was at Ayr and Goodman was acting as chaplain to Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy of Ireland. Complete and in good condition, it has not, so far as can be ascertained, been hitherto published or quoted. The transcripts, as is explained below, appear to have been made at Carden Hall in the first half of the eighteenth century, when the collection of Leche family papers was evidently much larger than it is now. In addition to a copy of the letter of October 1566, there are copies of letters from Knox to Goodman dated February 1566[/7], November 1568 and May 1569, plus a copy of an undated letter which can be ascribed from internal evidence to late May or early June 1567. Again, these do not appear to have been published or quoted. The fate of the originals from which these transcripts were made is not clear. Carden Hall, or Carden Park as it had become known, was completely destroyed by fire on 16 September 1912. This may explain the disappearance of most of the Knox originals, although it then becomes difficult to account for the survival of one of them. A contemporary description of the conflagration does not mention books or manuscripts, though it states that the paintings had been lost; it does remark, however, that some furniture 'and effects', which had not been insured, were in fact salvaged. It is at least possible that the single holograph letter and some other fragments from a larger collection of manuscripts were among these 'effects'.⁷

II

The presence of hitherto unknown letters from Knox to Goodman among the collections of a Cheshire gentry family requires to be explained. Christopher Goodman outlived Knox by thirty years. The last part of Goodman's long life was spent in retirement at Chester, where he was rector of the parish of St Bridget.⁸ His will, dated 22 February 1602[/3] and with a codicil added 25 April 1603 shortly before his death on 4 June 1603,⁹ contains the following passage:

And for mye libarye of bookes I leave to the orderinge and discretion of mye brother John G[oodman] and mye cossin Will[ia]m Alderseye whether they shall thinke better to sell them or to distribute the same to suche mye cossins as shall aplye themselves to learninge as to mye cossin Alderseye his sonnes mye cossin Fitton his sonnes mye cossin Calcottes sonnes mye cossin Tilston his sonnes and other of mye kindred that give themselves to learninge espetialie to divinitie for which mye bokes best serve.¹⁰

⁷ Denbighshire Record Office, Wynnstay MSS DD/WY 7020: copy of instructions to counsel to advise the trustees of John Hurleston Leche, deceased, about their insurance claim following the Carden Park fire, January 1913; see also n. 12 below.

⁸ A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, A.D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford, 1974), 241-2.

⁹ Goodman's death is variously, and wrongly, given as 1601 and 1602 by some older authorities.

¹⁰ G.J. Piccope (ed.), *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories from the Ecclesiastical Court, Chester: The Third Portion*, Chetham Society, First Series, 54 (1861), 166-71; the passage quoted is at 169-70.

The precise nature of the 'cousinship' between Goodman and William Aldersey is obscure; but it is clear that, along with Goodman's brother, Aldersey inherited Goodman's books with the option of distributing them to those of the younger generation of the family who might find them useful. Presumably Goodman's manuscripts, with the letters from Knox among them, were considered to be part of his 'librarye of bookes'.

William Aldersey of Aldersey, a wealthy Chester merchant, was the grandson and nephew of the Mayors of Chester in, respectively, 1560 and 1594, and he was himself to be Mayor of Chester in 1613. He died in 1625, leaving among other issue a daughter, Alice, who married John Leche of Carden, Serjeant-at-law for the County Palatine of Chester, the ancestor of a direct line of Leches of Carden down to recent times.¹¹ Whatever may have happened to Goodman's books, his papers and correspondence, including the letters from Knox, would not, perhaps, have been regarded as likely to conduce to theological scholarship on the part of an aspiring student; and they may well have remained with William Aldersey and then with his daughter Alice and her husband. It seems probable that John Knox's letters passed along with Goodman's other manuscripts into the possession of the Leche of Carden family by this route.¹²

III

The surviving letter in Knox's own hand¹³ is written on a single sheet of paper measuring 16.5 inches by 12 inches (41.5 cm x 30.5 cm), which has been folded in two to make two folios of 8.25 inches by 12 inches (20.75 cm x 30.5 cm). The main text of the letter covers the recto and verso of fo. 1 and the recto of fo. 2. Before despatch the letter was again folded in half and then in half again to make a package of 8.25 inches by 3 inches (20.75 cm x 7.5 cm). There are slight traces of damp on the verso of fo. 2, on the outer side of this package. The address and endorsements were written on the verso of fo. 2 on the outside panel provided by the successive folds. This panel is much more discoloured than any other part of the letter. Sealing wax, traces of which remain, was applied at one end of the package. At the other end a stitch or staple seems to have been applied in order to hold the edges together while the letter was in transit to Ireland, leaving small holes which do not interfere with the text to any significant extent.

¹¹ G. Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 3 vols (2nd edn, revised by T. Helsby, London, 1882), ii. 698-701 (Leche family); ii. 727 (Goodman family); ii. 737-41 (Aldersey family). Ormerod is one of those who wrongly gives the date of Goodman's death as 1602; but his pedigrees are generally regarded as reliable.

¹² The remaining Goodman papers among the Leche of Carden MSS include two letters, one to Goodman and one mentioning him in a postscript; a damaged 'response' in some unidentified theological controversy by Goodman and other Puritan divines; and the rough draft of a letter by Goodman himself to an unidentified peer. Cheshire County Record Office, Leche of Carden MSS DLE 151, 153-5.

¹³ Cheshire RO, Leche of Carden MSS DLE 152.

Knox gave himself a margin of approximately 2 inches (5 cm) on the left-hand edge of the page. This provided him with space for three interpolations, each marked for inclusion at a specific point in the main text, and a postscript. He wrote in a firm and regular hand, with surprisingly few crossings-out or emendations. Apart from the three interpolations, which are clarifications and afterthoughts, one word is added above the line after being accidentally omitted, and an opening bracket is deleted after Knox realised that what he was writing was already in brackets; otherwise the letter is cleanly written. This strongly suggests that Knox had written a rough draft which he then copied neatly to make the fair version sent to Goodman; if so, the reason may be that Knox seems consciously to have written in a very heavily Anglicised form of Scots, either from deference to his English recipient or from general principle.¹⁴ The orthography is for the most part characteristic of the middle of the sixteenth century, except that Knox idiosyncratically transposed the 't' and the 'h' at the end of such words as 'knoweth', 'reneweth', 'pleaseth', 'wealth' and even 'both'. In our transcript printed as Appendix A below, we have retained Knox's spelling and as far as possible his punctuation, except that we have silently expanded conventional contractions such as 'yo' ('your') and 'w' ('with'). Knox sometimes ends words with a hieroglyph shaped as a loop culminating in a heavy subscript downstroke, looking like an 'e' with a long tail, which in Scottish documents would normally be transcribed as '-is', but which in English documents generally appears as '-es'. Since, on fo. 1v, Knox does not employ this hieroglyph when writing the word 'iniureyes' but writes a separate 'e' and an 's' at the end of the word in the English fashion (that is, not 'iniureyis' or some variant, the conventional Scots form of the plural), we have transcribed the long-tailed 'e' as '-es', including those occasions when it occurs in a superscript form at the end of such words as 'letteres' (in Scots, 'letteris') or 'courteores' (in Scots, 'courteoris').¹⁵ We have followed the rules prescribed by Grant Simpson for the transcription of lower case and capital 'I', 'J' and 'G'.¹⁶ We have very occasionally added a full stop at the end of what Knox clearly intended as a complete sentence, to clarify the sense. In the case of a very few words obscured by one of the folds, we have supplied a reading in angle brackets which is probably, but not quite certainly, correct.

IV

The papers of the Plas Power estate in North Wales, now divided between the Denbighshire Record Office at Ruthin and the National Library of Wales, contain at Ruthin a large quantity of transcripts relating to the

¹⁴ Grant G. Simpson, *Scottish Handwriting 1150-1650: An Introduction to the Reading of Documents* (new edn, East Linton, 1998), 40-1.

¹⁵ We are grateful to Dr Dauvit Broun for advice on this point of palaeography.

¹⁶ Simpson, *Scottish Handwriting*, 47. We have rendered Knox's references to the Deity as 'God' in Appendix A, but the eighteenth-century preference for 'god' in Appendices B and C is certainly defensible.

history of the Reformation, of Elizabethan Puritanism, and of sixteenth-century religion in general, apparently copied from the Goodman manuscripts preserved by the Leche family at Carden Hall before the fire in 1912.¹⁷ Among this mass of material is a bound volume of about 170 folios measuring 12.2 inches by 7.5 inches (30.5 cm x 19 cm).¹⁸ The first two folios are blank. There follows a section of about 90 folios, written on recto and verso with contemporary pagination. This contains transcripts of Goodman's manuscripts arranged in approximate chronological order, the earliest dated document being from 1554 and the latest from 1601, and it includes the letters from Knox and Bannatyne printed below in Appendices B and C. The last folio bearing a page number is p. 181. This is succeeded by about 40 blank folios until another short section appears of five unpaginated folios containing transcripts, in the same hand as the main section, of unconnected documents relating to the activities of the clergy in Wales in 1645-6. The remaining folios are blank. The handwriting is consistent with a date of compilation in the first three decades of the eighteenth century, as is also the white leather binding, which is discoloured but is otherwise in excellent condition.

The only writing in this volume which is not a transcript of a document is a note at p. 21, made in a convenient blank space in a different and larger, but still eighteenth-century, hand. This note clearly establishes a connection between the volume and Carden Hall, with its collection of Goodman papers:

Mr Christopher Goodman in a rough draught of his Will bearing date Sept[embe]r 2 1596 says he was then about the age of 78. And that he was the Son of William Goodman of the City of Chester Merchant Adventurer, & Alderman. His Picture is in the Parlour of Cawarden hall, the seat of John Leche Esqr. Painted A[nn]o D[omi]ni 1580. Æt[atis] suae 61. His last Will bears date 22^o February 1602. And it is probable he died soon after, aged about 85.¹⁹

The question remains: who made the transcripts? The obvious candidate is Thomas Lloyd (*ca* 1672-1734), a clergyman who was chaplain to Mary Myddelton of Croes Newydd, and whose wife was Elizabeth Leche of the Carden family, the great-granddaughter of Alice Leche, *née* Aldersey, to whose father, William Aldersey, Goodman had left his library. Thomas Lloyd had rented Plas Power in 1717. Miss Myddelton purchased the estate in 1732; Lloyd continued to live there until his death in 1734; his son William (1707-1793) lived there also, and when Miss Myddelton died in 1747 she bequeathed the estate to William.²⁰ It is just possible that

¹⁷ Denbighshire RO, Plas Power MSS DD/PP/839-49.

¹⁸ DD/PP/839.

¹⁹ The exact date of Christopher Goodman's birth is not known; this memorandum strengthens the case for the view that Goodman himself, and also his descendants, thought that it was in 1518 or 1519.

²⁰ This information is derived from the 'Introduction' to the typescript Calendar of the Plas Power MSS in the Denbighshire Record Office search room, and from Ormerod, *History of the County ... of Chester*, ii. 702-3.

either Elizabeth Lloyd, *née* Leche, or William Lloyd, the son, or any of William Lloyd's brothers or sisters, was responsible for the transcripts; but the former hypothesis seems on the whole unlikely, inasmuch as the transcripts exhibit a familiarity with Latin and with theological scholarship (rare, but not of course unknown, accomplishments among women of this period), and the latter hypotheses are equally unlikely on the grounds that the handwriting suggests the early, rather than the mid or late, eighteenth century. It is overwhelmingly probable that the compiler was the Welsh clergyman Thomas Lloyd. This supposition would satisfy the requirement that the author of the transcripts needed to be connected with the Leche family and with Carden Hall, and it would explain the survival of the transcripts themselves among the Plas Power MSS.²¹ No other theory presents itself about the authorship of the transcripts which meets these conditions. It is a conjecture—fanciful, but plausible—that the note about Goodman's will and his portrait, quoted above, was added to her husband's manuscript volume in a suitable blank space by Elizabeth Lloyd, who would have known about the decoration of the parlour at Carden Hall where she had grown up.

There is more material relating to John Knox in the volume than just the letters to Goodman. At pp. 32-3 is a letter from John Bale and 21 others at Frankfurt to Mr Knox at Geneva, dated 24 September 1554; at pp. 41-2 is a letter from John Knox and 15 others at Frankfurt to 'our loving bretherne & Countremen at Straszburg', dated 3 December 1554; at p. 45 is a memorandum of 'Certeyn notes conteynid in a booke made by Mr Knoles for the which he was accused of treason againste themperour, his sonne & the quene before the Magistrates of Franckford the 16 of March A[nn]o 1555'; at pp. 45-7 is a letter from John Knox at Geneva to Mr Williams, Mr Wood, Mr Gilby, Mr Kelk, or to any of them at Frankfurt, dated 1 May 1555.²² Goodman had presumably retained copies of these among his own papers. Interesting as these documents are to historians of Knox's period in exile in the 1550s, we have concentrated on his letters to Goodman here, in order to keep this essay coherent and within reasonable limits.

The letters from Knox to Goodman which survive among the transcripts of Thomas Lloyd, if indeed it was he who made them (we have henceforth assumed that he did), are printed below in Appendix B. We have added, in Appendix C, one further letter to Goodman found among Lloyd's transcripts, written not by Knox but by his friend and secretary Richard Bannatyne in July 1572 when Knox was evidently failing in health. Bannatyne described Knox's physical and to some extent

²¹ We have attempted to identify other examples of Thomas Lloyd's handwriting among the Leche of Carden and Plas Power MSS, and elsewhere; our efforts yielded his signature on a handful of legal documents (Cheshire RO, DLE 68; Denbighshire RO, DD/PP/309, DD/GA/561, DD/CP/519), but these are inconclusive with regard to the authorship of the transcripts at DD/PP/839. It may well be that Lloyd's handwriting is represented in some collection that we have not consulted.

²² Of these four items, the first two are reproduced in J. Petheram (ed.), *A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfurt [1575]* (London, 1846), 19-20, 24-6: the remaining two have hitherto been unknown.

mental condition towards the end of his life. We have again attempted to retain in Appendices B and C the spelling and punctuation of the manuscript. Lloyd's full stop and his comma are often indistinguishable; we have assumed a comma when the first letter of the succeeding word is lower case, and a full stop when it is a capital. We have again silently expanded familiar contractions involving superscript letters, and we have retained Lloyd's ampersands.

We have reproduced, in Appendix B, Lloyd's version of the letter of 27 October 1566, for which the original, printed in Appendix A, survives. It appears from this that Lloyd was in the habit of transcribing whole documents, rather than extracts from them; that he was familiar enough with sixteenth-century handwriting to be able to copy it, and with sixteenth-century Scottish expressions to be able to understand them;²³ and that, although he did make mistakes of transcription, these only very rarely affect the meaning of the letter. His versions are not perfect, but in our judgement his copies of the letters, if used with care, can reasonably be regarded as authentic representations of what Knox wrote.

V

The letters which are printed in Appendices A and B are the first new material written by Knox to be discovered and published since 1875, when Peter Lorimer printed documents from the Morrice MSS in Dr Williams's Library, London, in his book on Knox and the English church.²⁴

The significance of this exciting discovery is threefold. In the first place, the five letters, plus the one from Bannatyne, provide vital new information, especially with regard to Knox's previously unknown links to the Irish Reformation and to the details of events between 1566 and 1572. In the second place, they illuminate and clarify what is already known about Knox's life, and in particular they offer a firm structure to hold together his last years. In the third place, on a more personal side, they give a deeper understanding of his close relationship with Christopher Goodman, the English radical Protestant who was Knox's fellow minister in Geneva and in Scotland from 1555 to 1565, and of Knox's state of mind in the final six years of his life. The letters show the range of Knox's international contacts and information gathering, and in particular his continued links with English radical Protestants and his abiding 'British' perspective on events within the three kingdoms.²⁵

²³ Lloyd did not quite manage Knox's quotation of the Scottish proverb 'Fayr heghtes mack fooles fain', but he made a very reasonable attempt. The general point is given additional weight by considering Lloyd's transcript of a letter in Scots from W. Stewart to Goodman, dated 24 June 1573, at Denbighshire RO, Plas Power MSS DD/PP/839, p. 127. Stewart made fewer concessions to an English recipient than Knox, but Lloyd was able to copy his letter without much apparent difficulty.

²⁴ Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England* (London, 1875).

²⁵ The new Knox material found in the Goodman papers will be fully discussed in a biographical study of John Knox on which Jane Dawson is working.

The new letters written to Christopher Goodman formed part of a correspondence which began when the Englishman left Scotland in 1565 and continued until Knox's death in 1572. Unfortunately, most of the letters between the two men have been lost; only part of one of Goodman's letters to Knox, and the last letter Knox wrote to Goodman, have hitherto been known.²⁶ Even with the additional five letters printed below, the correspondence is far from complete. The final letter in the series was written by Knox's secretary, Richard Bannatyne, a few months before Knox's death.

The relationship between Knox and Goodman began when the two men became acquainted at long range during the reign of Edward VI, when they were both members of the radical party within the Church of England. Although they had known about each other, it is now clear that their first meeting took place in Chester at the start of Queen Mary Tudor's reign. In 1567 Knox recalled the event vividly, reminding Goodman how they had walked on the city walls at Chester, and had then discussed whether to flee from the Roman Catholic regime which had been re-established within England. Knox had urged Goodman in strong terms not to remain 'within Satans bludy clawes' explaining 'god no doubt had preservyd youe for an other tyme to the great comfort of his Church'.²⁷ They subsequently found their way into exile on the continent by different routes, coming together at Frankfurt where they were embroiled in the famous controversy over the *Book of Common Prayer*.²⁸ After Knox had been forced to leave the city, Goodman became one of the leaders of the 'Knoxian' or radical party, eventually leading that group to Geneva where it formed the English exile church with Knox and Goodman as its ministers.

This joint ministry in Geneva was one of the happiest and most successful periods of Knox's life, with the two men working extremely well together. They held similar radical views, particularly concerning the issue of resistance to ungodly rulers. In January 1558 Goodman published his tract *How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd of their Subiects*, and Knox his notorious *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*.²⁹ Both tracts challenged the right of women to rule and called for an English uprising to remove Mary Tudor. They also advocated the right of resistance to an ungodly ruler, based on radical political theories that shocked some of their contemporaries.³⁰

²⁶ Knox, *Works*, vi. 573, 618-619: Goodman to Knox after Regent Moray's death, ca March 1570; Knox to Goodman, St Andrews, July 1572.

²⁷ The only reference to this meeting is in Knox's letter; Appendix B: Knox to Goodman, ca May 1567.

²⁸ *A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort [1575]*; E. Cameron, 'Frankfurt and Geneva: the European context of John Knox's Reformation', in R. Mason (ed.), *John Knox and the British Reformations* (Aldershot, 1998), 59-61.

²⁹ These tracts are conveniently printed in, respectively, C.H. McIlwain (ed.), *How Superior Powers ...* (facsimile edn, New York, 1931); and Knox, *Works*, iv. 363-420, or R. Mason (ed.), *John Knox on Rebellion* (Cambridge, 1994), 3-47.

³⁰ J. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship* (Oxford, 1996), ch. 4; R. Mason, *Kingship and Commonwealth* (East Linton, 1998), ch. 5; J. Dawson, 'Revolutionary conclusions: the case of

Not surprisingly, such views brought Queen Elizabeth's deep displeasure.³¹

After Queen Mary's death, Elizabeth sought to prevent them from returning to England. She refused Knox's request for a passport to travel through the country on his way home, thereby forcing the Scottish reformer to voyage to Edinburgh by sea. Although Goodman slipped back into England, he was forced into hiding.³² He was happy to heed Knox's plea to come to Scotland and he journeyed north in the summer of 1559, immediately becoming minister at Ayr. In 1560 he was translated to St. Andrews and for the next five years worked closely with Knox who was minister at St Giles, Edinburgh.³³ During this time Goodman settled comfortably in Fife, free from the political pressures of the capital and court and able to create a model reformed burgh.³⁴ In the process he learnt some of the Scots language, as Knox teased him in the letter of 27 October 1566.³⁵

Goodman's close association with the earl of Moray, who was the Commendator Prior of St. Andrews, embroiled him in the 'Chase-about Raid' in 1565. Early in November, when Moray's friends in St. Andrews were suspected of treason, Goodman left Scotland.³⁶ By early December Goodman had been reunited with Moray and his allies, who had fled to Newcastle. They wanted Goodman to preach to them and Moray had to employ his influence at the English court to secure the necessary episcopal licence.³⁷ Surprisingly, Goodman did not accompany the exiled Scottish lords when they returned home in March 1566 following Rizzio's murder. Instead he joined the household of Sir Henry Sidney, the new Lord Deputy of Ireland, and crossed to Dublin.

³⁰ (*Continued*) the Marian exiles', *History of Political Thought* 11 (1990), 257-72; J. Dawson, 'The two John Knoxes: England, Scotland and the 1558 tracts', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42 (1991) 555-76; J. Dawson, 'Resistance and revolution in sixteenth-century thought: the case of Christopher Goodman', in J. Van Den Berg and P. Hoftijzer (eds), *The Church, Change and Revolution* (Leiden, 1991), 69-79. Some contemporaries even attributed the *First Blast* to Goodman because Knox had published it anonymously.

³¹ Cecil explained to Sadler and Crofts, 31 October 1559, 'of all others Knoxes name if it be not Goodman is most odiose here'. BL, Add. MSS 33,591, fo. 249r.

³² A. Peel (ed.), *The Second Part of a Register*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1915), ii. 59-60.

³³ Calvin recognised how important Goodman's presence was to Knox and the Scottish Reformation, and urged the Englishman to remain in the country to support his friend. Knox, *Works*, vi. 125: Calvin to Goodman, 23 Apr. 1561.

³⁴ J. Dawson, 'The Face of Ane Perfyt Reformed Kyrk': St Andrews and the early Scottish Reformation', in J. Kirk (ed.), *Humanism and Reform: Essays in Honour of James K. Cameron*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 8 (Oxford, 1991), 413-35.

³⁵ Knox's aside when using a Scottish proverb, 'I wold not ye should forgett your Scottish tounge'; Appendix A: Knox to Goodman, fos 1v-2r.

³⁶ The timing of his departure suggests he might have remained with the pregnant countess of Moray, helping in her unsuccessful attempt to escape by sea to England. T[he] N[ational] A[rchives at Kew], SP59/10, fos 185-8: Bedford to Privy Council, 12 Nov. 1565.

³⁷ BL, Egerton 1818, fo. 39: Moray to Leicester, 7 Dec. 1565. Due to Goodman's celebrated justification of the right of resistance, this was a sensitive matter, forcing the bishop of Durham, James Pilkington, to seek guidance from Sir William Cecil, the Queen's leading adviser. BL, Lansdowne VIII, fos 186r-187r: Pilkington to Cecil, 14 Jan. 1566.

Being in different countries, Knox and Goodman had to keep in touch by letter. The first two letters in the Appendices below, of October 1566 and February 1567, reveal for the first time that there was a serious proposal for Knox to leave Scotland and join Goodman in a joint evangelical mission in Ireland. The Scot considered the suggestion carefully and only with reluctance decided he must refuse. The very idea that Knox was willing to contemplate leaving his ministry in Scotland illustrates how unsettled and pessimistic he had become about Scottish affairs and his own role in them in the period following the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots to Lord Darnley. Knox was obviously grateful to be away from the capital and among supporters in the south-west of Scotland.³⁸

Goodman wrote from Drogheda a 'loving lettre' to Knox, probably in September 1566, inviting his friend to join him. The letter seems to have been accompanied by a friendly note or commendation to Knox from Sir Henry Sidney.³⁹ Having left Edinburgh shortly after Rizzio's murder on 9 March 1566, Knox had gone to the south-west though his movements during the next eighteen months have hitherto been shrouded in mystery. By the time he received Goodman's letter, Knox was minister in Ayr and was moving into a house in the burgh. As his reply indicates, he was clearly tempted by the offer of another joint venture with Goodman which would have meant a restoration of their old partnership, an escape from his problems in Scotland and an opportunity of repaying Goodman for his previous efforts there. However, Knox felt that without the General Assembly's permission he could not leave his present congregation at Ayr nor the one in St Giles, Edinburgh, which still had a claim upon him. He suggested that a letter from Goodman would persuade the next Assembly to allow an Irish visit and possibly a longer stay. Significantly, he assumed that any opposition to the scheme would come from the English bishops, rather than Scottish sources. Thanks to their revolutionary tracts and to their reputation for ecclesiastical radicalism, Knox was convinced the English ecclesiastical authorities feared a Goodman-Knox combination and would endeavour to keep them apart.⁴⁰ In the event it took three months for Goodman to receive the letter and so the opportunity was missed to write to the General Assembly which met at Christmas.⁴¹

³⁸ For Knox's outlook at this juncture, see W. Ian P. Hazlitt, 'Playing God's card: Knox and fasting, 1565-6', in Mason (ed.), *Knox and the British Reformations*, 176-98.

³⁹ William Whittingham had received letters from Goodman and Sidney written in September 1566. Denbighshire RO, DD/PP/839, pp. 87-8; Whittingham to Goodman, 12 Nov. 1566. Knox's reply to Goodman was directed to Drogheda; Appendix A: Knox to Goodman, 27 Oct. 1566, endorsement. Sidney was in Drogheda from 19 August to 14 September 1566; H.C. Hamilton *et al.* (eds), *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland*, 24 vols (London, 1860-1911), i. 313-14. The letter might have been carried by John Douglas who was used by Sidney in his Scottish dealings, especially with the 5th earl of Argyll, Douglas' previous master. Douglas was mentioned as a possible trusted bearer in Knox's next letter; Appendix B: Knox to Goodman, 18 Feb. 1567.

⁴⁰ Appendix A: Knox to Goodman, 27 October 1566, fo. 1r.

⁴¹ The date 26 January 1567 on the dorse of the letter probably means 1567 and not 1568. Not surprisingly, Knox had not received Goodman's reply when he wrote again on 18 February 1567.

Knox's next letter of 18 February 1567 clarified his position and movements. He was still in Ayr but had refused to return to his Edinburgh charge, obtaining instead a 'roving preaching commission' from the General Assembly. He also had permission to travel to England and was planning to leave at the end of April to visit Elizabeth Bowes, his mother-in-law, who was caring for his two sons by his first marriage, Nathaniel and Eleazer. Reluctantly, he told Goodman that he could not come to Ireland because 'I dare not cast off that burden that god hath laid upon me to preach to unthankfull (yea allace miserable) Scotland.'⁴² He was most anxious not to forgo the possibility of meeting Goodman in Chester, though he was not sure if this could be managed as he was expecting to travel south accompanied by his second wife, Meg, and Martha, their baby daughter.⁴³ In addition he was hoping that Goodman could be brought back to Scotland and requests were sent to Ireland at this time urging Goodman to return.⁴⁴

As is well known, Knox was not in Scotland during the final months of the personal reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, though he had returned to Edinburgh for the General Assembly at the end of June 1567 before Mary formally abdicated.⁴⁵ If he did not set out upon his journey until the end of April, his stay in England was shorter than has been thought, probably starting with a visit to the Bowes family, then seeing Goodman near Chester, going to London to meet members of his old Genevan congregation and other nonconformist groups and finally making his way north again. Knox's next letter to Goodman is undated but was probably written while he was in the latter part of his English trip at the end of May or the start of June 1567. He mentioned he had recently been staying at Goodman's house in Aldford, just outside Chester, and they had discussed the Vestiarian controversy which was causing deep divisions in the Church of England. Goodman's hard line on the subject, that he dare not wear the vestments 'lest god wold forsake' him, convinced the Scot to drop his more moderate stance. Later in his travels, Knox had talked to a group of English radicals probably based in or around London who had asked him to urge Goodman to write a tract defending the nonconformist position. Knox was convinced 'god movyd the matter' and told his friend not to let the opportunity pass to write 'lest by silence you suffre Anticrists clothing to remayne still in the mynds of the simple and deceyvvyd'.⁴⁶ In addition, Knox was concerned

⁴² Appendix B: Knox to Goodman, 18 February 1567.

⁴³ Knox's humorous comment to Goodman that his wife 'is so sollist upon her dowghter Martha that all service is gone' suggests that he was experiencing the pressures of fathering a second family.

⁴⁴ Referring to the requests which had recently come from Scotland, Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, begged Goodman to stay in Ireland. Denbighshire RO, DD/PP/839, p. 89; Sidney to Goodman, 27 March 1567.

⁴⁵ Knox signed the letter directed to the Lords, 26 June 1567. Knox, *Works*, ii. 563 and n. 2; T. Thomson (ed.), *The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland: Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, 3 vols, Maitland Club, 49 parts 1-3 (Edinburgh, 1839-45) [cited hereafter as *BUK*], i. 94-5.

⁴⁶ Appendix B: Knox to Goodman, n.d. [late May or early June 1567].

that the spate of tracts from English Catholics printed at Louvain in 1567 should be answered. He ended his letter with some notes of his own thoughts which would fit both the Vestiarian and the anti-Catholic polemic. These glimpses of his contacts and movements in 1567 help to explain why a year later Knox was thinking of the possibility of returning to his old Geneva friends and was in correspondence with an unnamed English separatist.⁴⁷

Knox's last two letters to Goodman were dominated by his view of Mary, Queen of Scots, and of the miserable state of affairs in Scotland. In November 1568 Knox was writing from a plague-stricken Edinburgh in a depressed mood, feeling close to death. As well as being surrounded by disease, he felt besieged by the hostility of the Queen's supporters, including those with whom he had formerly been on friendly terms. It was a comfort to Knox to recall his friendship and complete agreement with Goodman, whose integrity and refusal to compromise he so admired. Asking Goodman to read it and check it for errors, Knox enclosed a copy of an unidentified letter he had written after the Battle of Langside which had been circulated or published in the west of Scotland and which had offended many by its explicit attack upon Mary.⁴⁸

The fear that the Scottish Queen was working her wiles in her English prison filled Knox's letter of 20 May 1569. Rumours of the marriage between Mary and the duke of Norfolk provoked one of his most bitter outbursts: 'yf ever there was more wickednes in one woman then has burst furth in hyr (besides that which yet lurks) ... let hyr lief speak.'⁴⁹ He dismissed with scorn the argument that the Scottish Queen was repentant and hinted that soon God would reveal the others who were involved in Darnley's murder.

Knox's last surviving letter to Goodman has been known since Laing's edition of his *Works*.⁵⁰ It was composed in July 1572 from St Andrews and would have accompanied the longer letter from his secretary Richard Bannatyne which was sent to London where Goodman was under house arrest.⁵¹ Bannatyne explained that Knox's health was failing but his master was still vigorous in his attacks upon the Castilians in Edinburgh and his opponents at St Andrews. He commented that in the university

⁴⁷ Knox, *Works*, vi. 558-9: Knox to John Wood, 14 Feb. 1568; 'A letter written to Mr Knoxe' [ca May 1568], printed in Lorimer, *Knox and the Church of England*, 298-300, and discussed, 229-40.

⁴⁸ It seems unlikely that this was his first draft of the *Answer to Tyrie* or the *Order of Excommunication*, which are known to have been completed around this time, because neither contain explicit attacks upon the Queen's party.

⁴⁹ Appendix B: Knox to Goodman, 20 May 1569.

⁵⁰ Knox, *Works*, vi. 618-19. It should be noted that at the top of p. 619 there is a line missing which can be supplied from Calderwood's extract from the letter in his *History*, iii. 114. The whole sentence should read 'So long it hath pleased God to continue me in anie strength, I ceased not to forewarne [p. 619] these dayes publictlie, as Edinburgh can witnes; and <secretlie as Mr Randolph, and other of that nation with whom I> secretlie conferred, can testifie.'

⁵¹ Appendix C: Bannatyne to Goodman, 17 July 1572; BL, Add. MSS 32,091, fos 246-7: Goodman to earl of Leicester, 25 July 1572.

the split between St Leonard's College and the other two colleges of St Salvator's and St Mary's was more bitter than before, though there was an attempt to hide it.⁵² Bannatyne wrote with the specific purpose of enlisting Goodman's help in encouraging Knox to finish his *History*. Although too feeble to write more himself, Knox could hand it over to another to complete, by implication Bannatyne himself. If Goodman did write to Knox along these lines, he persuaded his old friend, because Book Five of the *History* was written by a continuator, most probably by Bannatyne. The secretary's letter mentions another way in which it was hoped Knox's work would be continued. In August 1571 the General Assembly had written to Goodman asking him to come to Scotland to replace Knox, though nearly a year later it appeared as if the letter had not reached Goodman. The same request came directly from Edinburgh burgh council after Knox's death and also in 1574 the burgh of Ayr formally called Goodman to return to his first Scottish charge.⁵³ Although for the rest of his life Goodman wanted to return to Scotland, he was consistently refused a licence to travel across the border.⁵⁴

In addition to revealing a great deal of new information for the period from 1566 to Knox's death, these letters highlight some of the themes which run throughout his career. In particular, they offer an insight into his state of mind during his final years. The sense of apocalyptic gloom which seemed to engulf Knox was reflected in the biblically based quotations he employed to head these letters, such as 'The end of all things draweht neyr' in 1568, or in the following year, 'The end of all thinges temporall approches and therfor we aught to be vigilant'. On the personal side the letters further underscore the importance of his relationship with Goodman. The plans for Knox to come to Ireland or for Goodman to return to Scotland indicated that both men wanted to work alongside each other again. Knox made frequent mention of the support and strength he had received over the years from his 'beloved brother' Goodman. In 1568 when he thought death was not far away, he deliberately summed up their friendship, saying 'rejos ye with me in that, that it hath pleased the mercy of our god to mack us aggre so long in the midst of divers tentations in the simplicitie of his trueth. Your

⁵² In his diary he commented that the split had increased following Goodman's departure from St Andrews in 1565. R. Pitcairn (ed.), *Memorials of Transactions in Scotland A.D. MDLXIX – A.D. MLXXXIII by Richard Bannatyne, Secretary to John Knox*, Bannatyne Club, 51 (Edinburgh, 1836), 258.

⁵³ Some time after Knox's death in November 1572 Edinburgh approached Sir Henry Killigrew, the English ambassador, asking him to contact Goodman; Denbighshire RO, DD/PP/839, p. 127: Goodman to Killigrew, 6 Mar. 1573. The burgh council then wrote formally to Goodman; DD/PP/839, pp. 127-8: 24 June 1573. Goodman replied to Ayr's request explaining that he had been refused a royal licence to come to Scotland either permanently or on a preaching tour; DD/PP/842: Goodman to burgh of Ayr, 16 July 1574. Earlier Goodman's friend had urged him to go and work in Scotland, licence or no licence; DD/PP/839, pp. 127-8: William Williams to Goodman, 17 October 1573.

⁵⁴ Thomas Randolph, an English ambassador in Scotland and a friend of Goodman's since their days at Christ Church, Oxford, tried again in 1580; TNA, SP12/144, fo. 71: Randolph to earl of Leicester, 21 Nov. 1580.

familiaritie hath bein comfortable to me for divers causes, but for non so much as for that uprythnes of judgement which I never did perceiv to be corrupted in you for any worldly respectes, in the which integrity I pray god for Christ Jesus his sonnes sake ye may continew to the end. Amen.⁵⁵

The letters also serve as a reminder that Knox maintained a large correspondence of which only small sections survive. He was remarkably well informed about political events, not only when he was at his 'listening post' in Edinburgh, but also when based in Ayr or on the move in England. As the letter of 27 October 1566 demonstrates, he knew what had happened in the Scottish court, then based at Jedburgh, and could provide exact details of the reaction to the earl of Bothwell's injury or comment upon the likely consequences of the Queen's revocation of the royal grants. His level of knowledge about Irish affairs was remarkable and suggests that the burgh of Ayr was better informed than the English administration in Dublin. He knew all about the earl of Argyll's 'interprise' and was willing to send the more confidential details directly to Sir Henry Sidney via a trusted messenger. In 1568 he was aware that the duke of Châtelherault and the Queen's party were negotiating with France, and in the following year he had heard about the proposed marriage between the Scottish Queen and the duke of Norfolk.

From England Knox received detailed information via a number of correspondents and sources. He was in touch with many of his former congregation in Geneva, writing to friends such as William Whittingham and sending his messages to John Bodleigh.⁵⁶ His English contacts appear to have kept up the letters and news despite the fact that from the mid-1560s Knox became a less diligent correspondent and the flow of letters to Anne Locke, which had supplied so much information in the early years of the Scottish Reformation, completely disappears.⁵⁷ The renewal of personal contact during his trip to England in 1567 was extremely important in maintaining this network.

These letters underline the continuing importance of England in Knox's thoughts. From his first ministry in Berwick in King Edward's reign until his death, Knox never lost his deep affection for his English congregations. Throughout his life he remained involved in English ecclesiastical affairs and concerned over the fate of the country. As he remarked in May 1569, 'yet I cannot but luf the quietness of England because that in that realme god hath many faithfull hartes albeit thei be few yf thei be compared with the multitude of the wicked'.⁵⁸ His visit in 1567 and his discussions with Goodman altered his stance on the

⁵⁵ Appendix B: Knox to Goodman, 3 Nov. 1568.

⁵⁶ Whittingham was expecting to find a letter from Knox when he returned to Durham; Denbighshire RO, DD/PP/839 pp. 87-8: Whittingham to Goodman, 12 Nov 1566. Knox names Bodleigh, *Works*, vi. 619: Knox to Goodman, July 1572.

⁵⁷ Knox apologised to an unnamed friend in England that he had not written in seven years; *Works*, vi. 565-7: 19 Aug 1569. The last surviving letter to Anne Locke was 6 May 1562; *Works*, vi. 140-1, and comment, 523.

⁵⁸ Appendix B: Knox to Goodman, 20 May 1569.

Vestiarian controversy and later drew him into the dispute over whether the radical London group should separate themselves from the Church of England.

If Knox was both a Scotsman and an Englishman 'by adoption', he was also firmly 'British' in his perspective.⁵⁹ He was strongly convinced of the inter-relationship between the three kingdoms of Scotland, Ireland and England, seeing them joined by God as part of a divine plan for the British Isles. Although so little other correspondence has survived, these letters provide evidence that Scottish, Irish and English Protestants were in regular contact. They were conscious of being members of a common brotherhood within the British Isles, as well as of being part of the broader community of European Protestants. Throughout his life, Knox maintained an explicitly 'British dimension' to his thinking, linked to his Anglophilia. The Reformations in all three kingdoms and this 'British dimension' shaped the ministerial careers of Knox and Goodman, as much as their outlook.⁶⁰ They were convinced that God's plan for the British Isles would include the triumph of Protestantism within all three kingdoms. To further this great enterprise, they were prepared to ignore national boundaries, assuming that their ministries could be continued in Scotland, England or Ireland.

These letters suggest some intriguing possibilities. What might have happened if Knox had gone to Ireland with Goodman in 1566? Backed by the enthusiastic support of the Lord Deputy, would that duo have managed to galvanise the Protestant Reformation in Ireland? What if Goodman had succeeded Knox in Edinburgh, or had returned to Ayr or St Andrews? In 1573 William Williams recognised the potential and tried to persuade Goodman to work in Scotland, 'you may do a great deal more good there [Scotland] for the erecting of a perfect church to the glory of our God and for the comfort of a great number with the overthrowing of the enemies of Christ's church then ever you shall be able to do here [England]'.⁶¹ How might thirty years of Goodman as chief minister at St Giles have changed Edinburgh? In what direction might this English 'second Knox' have steered the Scottish Kirk during the troubled times of the 1570s and 1580s; or how might such a venerable elder statesman have reacted to the ecclesiastical policies of James VI before 1603? In the event, Knox never went to Ireland and Goodman left that country after only a short stay. In 1567 Scotland neither lost Knox nor gained Goodman. The Englishman was prevented from returning to Scotland and was restricted to maintaining contact by letter. From the perspective of 1603, the year of Goodman's death, it was clear that there

⁵⁹ Terms coined in Dawson, 'The two John Knoxes' [see n.30].

⁶⁰ S. Alford, 'Knox, Cecil and the British dimension of the Scottish Reformation' in Mason (ed.), *Knox and the British Reformations*, 201-19. For a more general discussion, see J. Dawson, 'Anglo-Scottish Protestant culture and integration in sixteenth-century Britain', in S. Ellis and S. Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485-1707* (London, 1995), 87-114.

⁶¹ Denbighshire RO, DD/PP/839, pp. 127-8: William Williams to Goodman, 17 October 1573.

were multiple 'British Reformations', and the three kingdoms were travelling their separate ways. Although Knox and Goodman left a considerable legacy to the Protestant culture of the whole English speaking world, their greatest impact was within Scotland.

VI

Co-operation between scholars can be a hazardous undertaking; our collaboration has, however, been harmonious. Lionel Glassey, who is not primarily a historian of the Scottish Reformation or even of the sixteenth century, stumbled upon the holograph letter at Chester when working on something else altogether, and he is responsible for the descriptive and historiographical Sections I-IV above, for the text of the documents reproduced in the Appendices and for the few footnotes in the Appendices which describe the appearance of the respective documents. Jane Dawson, in the course of completing entries on John Knox and Christopher Goodman for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, uncovered the material at Ruthin, wrote the analytical and interpretative Section V above, and contributed all the explanatory and contextual footnotes to the Appendices. Both of us have felt from time to time that our joint enterprise has been, not a duumvirate, but a triumvirate. There was something almost uncanny in our transcribing Knox's holograph letter at Chester, and then subsequently in discovering at Ruthin that Thomas Lloyd, if it was he, had conducted precisely the same exercise with closely similar results nearly three hundred years previously. We would both wish to record our admiration for, and our gratitude towards, our Welsh predecessor, whose unsung labours have preserved for historical scholarship a body of valuable and important material relating to John Knox and Christopher Goodman that would otherwise have perished.

APPENDIX A

Cheshire County RO, Chester, Leche of Carden
MSS DLE 152.

John Knox to Christopher Goodman,
27 October 1566.

Holograph.

[fo. 1r]

[Left-hand margin] 16¹

The eis of the lord ar upon such as fear him.

Disparing of the suddaine return of this bearer² beloved brother in the lord Jesus I dispatshed some anser to your Loving lettre by ane other way which yf it cum to your hand will certifie you asweall of my awen estate as of my judgement of the effares as presentlie thei stand amonges ws³ (for amendement appeares non) and yerfor in these I mynd to be the schortar. This realme with saif conscience I can not leave, so long as any congregatioun within the sam will call me to the preaching of the ewangill, and yit God knoweht how glaid wold my heart be to bear with you sompart of your burthen (how unable that ever I be) as God made you to beare with me to the confort of many in the tyme most dangerous. The church of Edinburcht reneweht thare suyt that I shall be content to reenter in charge with thame as of old but be reassoun of some promesse maide to this toun of Ayr I have remitted the anser to the decision of the generall assemblye att the which (the tym<e>⁴ ye know is att Christemass) yf your letteres could be: craving of thame that I should be charged to assist you for a ceassoun. I think your just petitioun should not be denyed, and so should ye see whetther that I should vesityt you or it war long or not. The reassons and persuasions that may move heir I remitt to your awen wisdome. I more fear that your politick bischoppes within England⁵ should storme att

¹ The meaning of the figures '16' in the margin at the top of the letter can only be conjectured. They are clearly not intended as an insertion in the main body of the text. They may be a relic of some system of numbering Goodman's correspondence among the Leche of Carden MSS, made when that collection was much larger than it is now; or it is barely possible that the hieroglyphs are 'I[ohn] K[nox]' and are an addition by Goodman, or some other near contemporary, to signify the author of the letter.

² The bearer was possibly John Douglas, the trusted servant of Sir Henry Sidney; Douglas had come to Scotland to buy armour. J. Dawson, *The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots* (Cambridge, 2002), 200-1.

³ The word 'ws' is inserted above the line.

⁴ The final 'e' of 'tyme' is lost at the edge of the page.

⁵ The words 'within England' are added by Knox in the margin, with an insertion mark after 'bischoppes' to indicate the place where they are to be included.

our coniunctioun and so travall to dissever ws, then that I dowbt that your requeast should suffer a repulse amonges ws. Albeit that the interprise of the erle of Ergyle⁶ be stayed, lett not such as tender the quyetness of that countrey
[fo. 1v]

or yit the wealht of England be the more negligent, for all meanes ar sought to dissolve that which I ame assured God ones knytt. And heirof assuer my lord deputy⁷, for I know more then I dar committ to paper and ink. But few wourdes may suffice the wiese. Our Quen is att a justice court in Jedburght, what justice shalbe down the issew will declayr.⁸ But in the mean tyme I am assured that the just suffereht mo iniureyes then one, and yit I see the hand of God stretched out to plague ws more, for men amonges ws (of wemen I dar not speak) nethar fear nor think schame publictly to do wrong, but to amend or reapeant all now ar dead. Of the hurting of the erle Bothwell⁹ the rumores ar so diverse that therof I doe write nothing but that he is hurt which displeased many both in court and countrey but his lief being now assured, and no mutilatioun suspected his freindes ar in less greaf then befor th<ei>¹⁰ war. The ministeres begyn agane to get fayr promesses of some order to be tacken with thame for thare stipendes to be payed in tymes tocum, but the bygane summes can not be payed (for the Quen is poore say the courteoures¹¹ and so she is in dead) nethar yit can any thing be received befor the nixt crope. Thus craftely to handill the cause of God courteoures have yit no conscience with ws. The Quen hath made a generall revocatioun¹² and that publictly with sounde of trompettes and by heraultes of armes¹³ of all that she hath geven since her arrivall in Scotland, and so shall some be compelled to mack new suyte for that wherfor thei thought thame selves suyr yneaht. I forsee in that, farther then my finger. Fayr heghtes (I wold not

⁶ The fifth earl of Argyll had been in negotiation with Shane O'Neill, the rebellious Ulster lord who was giving the English Lord Deputy so much trouble. Argyll had intended to visit Ulster accompanied by troops, but had been persuaded by Mary, Queen of Scots not to go in person. J. Dawson, *The Politics of Religion*, 155-65.

⁷ Sir Henry Sidney (see above, note 2).

⁸ See J. Small, 'Queen Mary at Jedburgh, 1566', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 3 (1881) 210-33.

⁹ The earl of Bothwell had been wounded by John Elliot of the Park: T. Thomson (ed.), *A Diurnall of Remarkable Occurrents*, Bannatyne Club, 43 (Edinburgh, 1833), 100-1.

¹⁰ A hole in the paper obscures the word 'thei', but it is almost certainly the correct reading.

¹¹ Knox appears to have added an opening bracket after 'courteoures', but then to have crossed it out on realising that this part of his sentence is already a parenthesis in brackets.

¹² The reference is to the general revocation of the royal grants made from the Thirds of Benefices, the main source of income for ministers of the Reformed Kirk, announced on 17 September 1566. J.H. Burton *et al.* (eds), *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 11 vols (Edinburgh, 1908-82), i. 477-9.

¹³ The words 'and that publictly with sounde of trompettes and by heraultes of armes' are added by Knox in the margin, with an insertion mark after 'revocatioun' to indicate the place where they are to be included.

[fo. 2r]

ye should forgett your Scotish tounge) will not only mack fooles fain (ye know the proverbe)¹⁴ but also will cause thame yit ones againe putt soules and bodies boht in daunger.¹⁵ We hear that your parliament proceadeht in England, God reule it with his holy Spreit but allace I fear that will, (thare also) command reassoun, and superstitioun prevaill against simpill godlines.¹⁶ Lord yf thy goode pleasur be lett my fear be vane. Now brother reiose in the lord and performe the work of ane evangelist. God grant that your contrey men reiose ovir your presence as much as straungeres lament your absence. Your church of Sanctandroes have receaved Mr Robert Hamilton minister for you, with conditioun that, that place is youres whensoever it pleaseht God to restore you to thame, which thei mest earnestlie crave.¹⁷ And thus with the humble commendatioun of my poore service unto my lo<rd> dep<uty whose benevo>lence¹⁸ towardes me the most unwourthy of many I dowbt not but God shall recompense according to his promesse. Salut the faytfull hartlie in my naime, whome albeit in face I have not sein, yit in the lord Jesus I do embrase. God mack your laubores no less fruitfull, then war the laubores of Titus in the yle of Chrite.¹⁹ The faytfull heir salut you in generall, my lord Ughiltrie, my yockfallo (of whome God hath geven me a daughter) Charless Campbell, James Dalrymple and Archibald Fergusson in espetiall.²⁰ This same day begyn I housheld in Ayr and yerfor I am the more troubled having lytill heir to plenysh a house, but God who from my youht hath provided, will of his mercy still minister such thinges as he knowes expedient for me. And thus I conclude. The Spreit of the lord Jesus assist you evir. Of Ayr I hast 27 of October 1566.

Your loving brother

John Knox

¹⁴ The words 'ye know the proverbe' are added by Knox in the margin, with an insertion mark after 'fain' to indicate the place where they are to be included.

¹⁵ The proverb 'Fayr hecetes mak fooles faine' is recorded in M.L. Anderson (ed.), *The James Carmichael Collection of Proverbs in Scots, From the Original Manuscript in the Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh, 1957), 69. We are grateful to Professor Ted Cowan for drawing our attention to this reference. The meaning is, literally, 'fair promises make fools fond'; or, more colloquially, 'fools will be won over by fair words'.

¹⁶ The 1566 Parliament in England discussed both the succession question and religious reform; Knox's comment could apply to either issue.

¹⁷ Goodman had been minister at St Andrews until 1565, and the burgh wanted him to return.

¹⁸ The words in angle brackets are obscured by a hole and by a crease in the paper, but are confirmed by the transcript in Appendix B below and are almost certainly correct.

¹⁹ Titus i. 5: in the Authorised Version, 'For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting'.

²⁰ The greetings are from: Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, Knox's father-in-law; Margaret Stewart, Knox's wife or 'yokefellow'; Charles Campbell, a prominent Ayr burgess; James Dalrymple, former chorister and chaplain of St John's Kirk, Ayr, minister 1568-80; and Archibald Fergusson, whose identity is not known, unless (as is possible) Knox has mistaken the name and meant Archibald Fergusshill, who was Burgh Treasurer and Master of Works for Ayr in the early 1560s.

Post script

Ye know the hand albeit the subscription wer as it is absent.²¹

[fo. 2v]

To the notable servand of Jesus Christ and his beloved brother Mr Christopher Goodman trew preacher of the ewangell of the lord Jesus.

Deliver these att Droghda in Ireland.

[Later hand] To the notable servant of Jesus Christ and his beloved brother Mr Christopher Goodman.²²

[Faded, written the other way up] Receved the 26 of January 1567.²³

²¹ The postscript is written in the left-hand margin; the words '... as it is ...' are hard to explain, since Knox's salutation 'Your loving brother', his signature and the date appear clearly at the foot of the folio, unless Knox's meaning is interpreted to be, in effect, 'You would have recognised the handwriting even if I had not signed the letter'.

²² This seems to have been added in the nineteenth or early twentieth century.

²³ This last endorsement is, naturally, not in Knox's hand.

APPENDIX B

Denbighshire RO, Ruthin, Plas Power MSS DD/
PP/839, pp. 89-91.

John Knox to Christopher Goodman,
27 October 1566.

Eighteenth-century copy of the original in Appendix A.

[*Editors' note.* It is, of course, quite natural that Thomas Lloyd's eighteenth-century transcript of Knox's letter of 27 October 1566, assuming (as we do) that Lloyd made it from the same original, should differ in detail from our twenty-first-century version printed in Appendix A. Lloyd made intermittent attempts to preserve Knox's spelling, capitalisation and punctuation, but quite frequently he transcribed words in the manner of the eighteenth century. In the first sentence of the main body of the letter, for instance, he preserved Knox's spellings 'suddaine', 'ane', 'cum', 'awen' and 'thei', but he also wrote 'dispatched' for 'dispatsched', 'answer' for 'anser', 'if' for 'yf', 'as well' for 'asweall', 'mind' for 'mynd' and 'schorter' for 'schortar'; here and through the remainder of the letter he substituted an ampersand, '&', for 'and', unless 'and' is the first word in the sentence. For the most part, these differences do not affect Knox's meaning; but we have drawn attention, with an asterisk and a note in square brackets, to the (surprisingly infrequent) cases below where we believe Lloyd's reading is actually mistaken, or where it differs significantly from ours. Our purpose in reproducing both versions is to enable readers to judge for themselves how reliable Lloyd's transcripts are likely to be with regard to his copies of those letters in Appendices B and C for which no holograph survives.]

[p. 89]

To the notable servand of Jesus Christ & his beloved brother Mr Christopher Goodman trew preacher of the Evangill of the Lord Jesus, deliver these at Drogheda in Ireland.

The eyes of the Lord are upon such as fear him.

Disparing of the suddaine returne of this bearer beloved brother in the Lord Jesus I dispatched some answer to your loving letter by ane other man* ['way' in the holograph in Appendix A] which if it cum to your hand will certifie you as well of my awen estate as of my judgment of the

effares as presentlie thei stand amonges us, for amendment appeares non, & therefore in these I mind to be the schorter. This realm with saif answer* ['conscience' in the holograph in Appendix A]²⁴ I cannot leave, so long as any congregation within the same will call me to the preaching of the evangill, & yet god knoweth how glad wold my heart be to bear with you som part of your burthen, (how unable that ever I be) as god made you to bear with me to the comfort of many in the time most dangerous. The Church of Edinburghe renewe thare suyt that
[p. 90]

I shall be content to reenter in charge with thame as of old; but be reason of some promise made to this towne of Ayr I have rejected* ['re-mitted' in the holograph in Appendix A] the answer to the decision of the generall assembly at the which (the tyme you know is at Christmas) if your letters could be, craving of thame that I should be charged to assist you for a season, I think your just petition should not be denied, & so you should* ['should ye' in the holograph in Appendix A] see whether that I should vesityt you or it war long or not. The reassons & persuasions that may move here I leave* ['remitt' in the holograph in Appendix A] to your awen wisdome. I more fear that your politick bischoppes within England should storm at our conjunction & so travall to dissever us, then that I doubt, that your requeast should suffer a repuls amonges us. Albeit* ['that' in the holograph in Appendix A omitted] the enterprise of the Erle of Argyle be stayed, let not such as tender the quietness of that countrey or yet the wealht of England be the more negligent, for all meanes ar sought to dissolve that which I am assured god ones knytt. And heirof assure my Lord Deputy, for I know more then I dare comitt to paper & ink, but few words may suffice the wise. Our Quen is at a Justice court in Jedburgh, what justice shalbe done the ishew will declayr, but in the meane tyme I am assured that the just suffereht mo injuries then one, & yet I see the hand of god stretched out to plague us more, for Men amonges us (of Women I dar not speak) nethar fear nor think schame publickly to do wrong, but to reapept or to amend* ['amend or reapept' in the holograph in Appendix A] all now ar dead. Of the hurting of the Erle of Bothwell the rumours are so divers, that therof I dar* ['doe' in the holograph in Appendix A] write nothing, but that he is hurt, which displeased manie both in court & countrey; but his life being now assured & no mutilation suspected, his friends are in less grief than before thei war. The ministers begyn againe to gette fayr promesses of some order to be taken with them for their stipendes to be payd in time to cum, but the by-gave* ['by-gane' in the holograph in Appendix A] sommes cannot be payed (for the Quen is poore say the Courteours & so she is in deed) nether yet can any thing be received before the next crope. Thus craftely to handell the cause of god Courteours have yet no conscience with us. The Quen hath made a generall revocation & that

²⁴ The words 'conscience' and 'answer' may seem impossible to confuse; but the appearance of the word 'conscience' in the holograph letter is not, in fact, dissimilar to 'answeare', and it is easy to see how Lloyd was deceived.

publickly with sound of trompettes & by heraultes of armes of all that she hath geven since her arrivall in Scotland; & so shall some be compelled to mack new suyte for that wherof* ['wherfor' in the holograph in Appendix A] thei thought themselves suyr ynought. I forsee in that further then my finger, fayr heghtes (I wold not ye should forget your Scottish tounge) will not only mack foolies fame* ['fooles fain' in the holograph in Appendix A] (ye know the proverb) but also will cause thame, thir* ['yit' in the holograph in Appendix A] ones againe putt soules & bodies boht in daunger. We hear that your Parliament proceadeht in England. God rule it with his holy Spreit, but allace I fear that will (thare also) command reasson, & superstition prevayle against simpill godliness. Lord if thy goode pleaser be, let my fear be vane. Now, brother, rejos in the Lord & perform the work of ane Evangelist* ['evangist' in the holograph in Appendix A]. God grant that your countreyemen rejos over your presence as much as strangers lament your absence. Your church of Sanct. Andrews have receaved Mr Robert Hamilton minister for you with condition that that place is yours whensoever it pleaseht god to restore you to thame, which thei most earnestly crave. And thus with the humble commendations of my
[p. 91]

poore service unto my Lord Deputy whose benevolence to* ['towards' in the holograph in Appendix A] me the most unworthy of many I doubt not but god shall recompens according to his promesse. Salute the faithfull hartelie in my name, whom albeit in face I have not sein yet in the Lord Jesus I do embrace. God mack your labours no less fruitfull then war the labours of Titus in the Isle of Creite. The faithfull here salute you in generall, My Lord Ughiltre, my yockefalloe (of whome god hath geven me a daughter) Charless Champbell, James Dalrimple & Archibald Fergusson in especiall. This* ['same' in the holograph in Appendix A omitted] day begyn I houshold in Ayr & therfor I am the more troubled having lytill heir to furnish* ['plenish' in the holograph in Appendix A] a house, but god who from my yought has provided, will of his mercy still minister such things as he knows expedient for me. And thus I conclude. The Spreit of the Lord Jesus assist you ever. Of Ayr in* ['I' in the holograph in Appendix A] hast. 27 of October 1566.

Your loving brother

Johne Knox

Postscript

Ye know the hand albeit the subscription war as it is absent.

Denbighshire RO, Ruthin, Plas Power MSS DD/
PP/839, pp. 63-4.

John Knox to Christopher Goodman,
Ayr, 18 February 1566[/7].

Eighteenth-century copy.

[p. 63]

To his loving brother Mr Christopher Goodman minister of the
Evangel of Jesus Christ in Ireland.

The perpetuall confort of the holy ghost.

Two letters from you deare brother I have receaved since your departing from England, the one from a conetrey man of ours named Robert Steunston, the other from your awen servand John ... [blank in MS.] the answer whereof that ye have not receaved standes not by me, for the answer of the formar I direct by sea with the same messinger that delivered yours,²⁵ the <other> I send by land to Barvicke to have bein convoyed unto you to Chester for by your letters I understand that thither you war to repayr, more I could not do to lett you understand my estate in these most wicked dayes. I prayse my god through Jesus Christ that ye ar restored to your corporall health, God mantean it to his glory. I continew in Ayr traveling to raise up again yat which in your absence was wonderously destroyed. This last Christmas I was at the generall assemble, but seaknes so troubled me that I myght not be present att all dyetts.²⁶ The Church of Edenburgh earnestlee traved that I should be subiect to thame whensoever thei should requyr me whar to I repugned & desyred the assemble to appoint unto me whare I should travall or elles to sett me at libertie. Nethar absolutely could I obtene, but this far is granted, that with saif conscience I may travall in preaching Christ Jesus whare god shall offer occasion, till that thei appoint me a certain station. Farther I have licence of the Autoritee to depart out of the realme & to returne at my pleasure without offence or daunger of any law. My purpos is in the end of Aprile to vesitt my Children & my mother in law. And what I shall after do god knoweth. Yf I war not burdened with wief, doughter & ... [blank in MS.] I myght perchance vesitt you before ye go to Ireland againe,

[p. 64]

but I dare not cast off that burden that god hath laid upon me to preach to unthankfull (yea allace miserable) Scotland. Ye know what I did, but becaus the necessitee is not so great with you, I dar not neglect

²⁵ One of these answers is the letter of 27 October 1566. The identity of Robert Steunston [possibly Stevenson or Stevenston] is not known.

²⁶ The General Assembly met in Edinburgh from 25 to 28 December 1566; *BUK* i. 82-92.

the small proffett that is offerred heir, if it war but within my awen walles, for any thing that I can proffett eyther with you or yet in England. And yet wolde I be most glaide to conferr with you if it war but one day befor that god should put end to my trubles, which time I am assured approchis verrey ney. The estat of thinges with ws I can not, nor will not wryte, for greafe & shame do both forbid. I have other letters to send unto you, but I am determined to abyd a more assured messinger. John Dowglass I saw not; if he cum unto me you shall know more of my mynd.²⁷ I leaf you to macke the humble commendations of my service to my Lord deputie & for remembrance say unto his H<onour> That the plagues that I saw & forspake to fall upon some particulars in England when no man feared,²⁸ I see now schortlye to be powered upon both the realmes, after the which whether that god shall leave that leek benediction as England has had offerred these yeares past I am not yet resolved, but heirof I am certane that happy shall those be that shall not behold the vengeance that is prepared for both, & that, not only for the iniquitie that without fear riegneht in the heades but also for that which haboundes in the hole body, & in those cheafly that should repress the insolency of the insolent, but I had almost forgett my self. Salut the faythfull brethren in my name. The faythfull heir of your acquaintance hartly salut you, my Meg by name commendes you to god, but she is so sollist upon her dowghter Martha that all service is gone.²⁹ Yf John Dowglass cum not unto me I may carry the other letters to England with my self, unless ye send unto me some messinger betwix this & the end of Aprile. Grace be with you now & ever, of Ayr the 18 of February 1566[/7].

Your loving brother to power in Christ Jesus

John Knox

²⁷ For Douglas see above, Appendix A, note 2.

²⁸ Knox is reminding Sir Henry Sidney of a prophecy probably made in Edward VI's reign by Knox himself, when he was preaching at the English court.

²⁹ Knox's second wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree; and their daughter, Martha. The remark is probably intended humorously.

Denbighshire RO, Ruthin, Plas Power MSS DD/
PP/839, pp. 85-7.

J[ohn] K[nox] to Christopher Goodman,
n.d. [late May or early June 1567].³⁰

Eighteenth-century copy.

[p. 85]

To the worshipfull & his very good friend Mr Christopher Goodman yeve [*sic*, *sc.* 'geve'] this at the Citie of Chester.

Domine Iesu exurge et defende populum tuum, ne Sathane permiseris pro vera fide vanam illi opinionem ingerere, pro vivo dei verbo litteram mortuam

[p. 86]

inferre pro certitudine dubitationem, proque lumine tenebras persuadere.³¹

I cannot forget what I have hard youe say preatch & teach openly, as lykwyse disclose in privat conference, & now even enforcyd to wryte some part of that hath heretofore passed onely betwixt us: Viz. At my first acquaintance with youe in the begynning of quenes Maries raigne we walkyd upon the walles of the citie of Chestre, & then imboldenyd my self to praye youe not to remayne within Satans bludy clawes then horribly usyd within this land, alledging that god no doubt had preservyd

³⁰ This letter contains neither date nor place; nor does it have a normal ending or signature, merely the initials J.K. on the last line. These omissions suggest either that Knox was in a rush at the end of the letter, or that it was copied by Goodman and the date and place were omitted because they were no longer relevant. From its content, it fits into the sequence of letters between 18 February 1567 and 3 November 1568. The reference to recently printed books, one by Nicholas Sanders and the other possibly by William Allen, confirms the 1567 date, since both authors published volumes in that year. The letter appears to have been written whilst Knox was visiting England, because it refers to 'this land' when mentioning England and because there are no comments concerning the Scottish situation or Goodman's friends in Scotland. The letter might have been written in or near London, because Knox refers to the request made to him by radical English Protestants who were probably based there, and his later correspondence hints that Knox was in the capital at some point. As he had explained in his letter of 18 February 1567, Knox planned to leave Scotland at the end of April 1567 and he was back in Edinburgh by 25 June to attend the General Assembly. The present letter discusses Knox's stay with Goodman in Aldford, near Chester, which seems to have formed part of Knox's journey south through England. Allowing for time for Knox to have first visited the Bowes family in County Durham, stayed in Aldford, travelled to London and met members of his old Genevan congregation and the new radicals, it is likely the letter was written towards the end of May or start of June 1567 before his return journey to Scotland.

³¹ 'Lord Jesus, arise and defend your people; do not allow Satan to pour forth his empty opinion in place of true faith, to advance the dead letter in place of the living Word of God, to induce doubt in place of certainty and darkness in place of light.'

youe for an other tyme to the great comfort of his Church.³² Bysyds this, when of late it was publishyd that eitch person of the mynistrye shold be cladd with the same fayssion of apparell as was usyd when the Eiryshe³³ Italian 'bisshopp had all at command among them *infra insulam britannicam*³⁴, I mutch fearyd lest by occasion thereof we shold have lost youe & your comfortable doctrine in Christ; & therefore did not onely by words desire you but also by lettres usyd my simple reasons, that you wold rather take for a tyme those Italishe clothes then to forsake Christ's pore flocke in your naturall country:³⁵ & at the last in your garden at Aldford youe & I walkyng alone, you said that you durst not so to do, lest god wold forsake youe; because, said youe, I have knowen of late dyvers persons excellently well learynd of ryght & zealous judgment very profitable to the Church of god as well in doctrine as by good example of leving, but syns they have receyvyd thes kynds of clothing they are become cold & of no value in comparison to that they have ben.³⁶ Thes your words then presently so peirsyd my stomake that there was no more said or wryten by me to the contrary. And as sythyns therin I have in many found your saying to be to to [*sic*] mutch true. But now why I shold remember this, that youe by mutch remember better then I, is, for that I trust by gods gift you will be still like unto your sielf, (& not to forgett but to put in execution that some one or mo excellent persons of great experience even of thenymy's chief post, whereupon he stayeth himself against god, that youe wold take pen in hand to handle & publishe to the world) whether the church dependith upon godes word, or godes word upon the church. They that desiryd this & prayed me to be the mesenger (as I therin have discharged my sielf) dyd never se youe to their knowledge, but drawen onely by that they have redd or hard of youe & with wome I had never tawlke of you in my lief before I was willyd to saye this messaige³⁷ (therefore do I think god movyd the matter, & suerly I beleve

³² This is the only reference to the first meeting between Knox and Goodman, probably in the winter of 1553-4.

³³ 'Eiryshe' is the most likely reading; we are confident about all the letters except the third, which is probably an 'r' but which may be an 'n'. It is not clear to whom Knox is referring. The Pope ('the bishop of Rome') is a possibility. So too is Cardinal Pole, although Pole's authority was confined to England, rather than to the whole of 'Britain' as is implied by the following phrase *infra insulam britannicam*. Pole was sometimes known as *inglese italianato*; it may be that 'Eiryshe' or 'Einysh' was Lloyd's attempt at *inglese*. There seems to be no obvious connection with Ireland in either case.

³⁴ '... within the island of Britain ...'.

³⁵ Knox's views on the Vestiarian controversy, before he talked personally to Goodman, can be seen in the letter urging reconciliation from the General Assembly to the English bishops, 27 December 1566, which Knox drafted, though he did not sign due to illness. Calderwood, *History*, ii. 332-5; *BUK* i. 85-8.

³⁶ Knox was probably at Aldford in the first half of May 1567. Goodman was referring to former Marian exiles and might have been making a specific comment about his friend William Whittingham because they held slightly different views on wearing vestments. Denbighshire RO, Plas Power MSS DD/PP/839, p. 94: Whittingham to Goodman, 13 Jan. 1567.

³⁷ This group, who knew Goodman by reputation only, was probably part of the radical nonconformist network based in London, some members of which were caught using the Genevan Book of Prayers in the Plumbers' Hall in 1567. Knox remained in contact

that it is one porcion of his singuler blessyd towards youe) & thereupon in conscience I am movyd to saye, that now take youe heed lest by silence you suffre Anticrists clothing to remayne still in the mynds of the simple & deceyvyd, for it is vis verbi dei³⁸ that must destroy him. I cannot tell what movyd some man to send youe latly from London a boke (part whereof I latly had redd at your table) I had hard dyvers say what nede this to be answeyrd, seing so much thereof is alreedy wryten & the matter of it

[p. 87]

sielf is so folyshe, as the arguments that Sanders, Alece & sutch like have wryten,³⁹ but I pray god the Learnyd of England have not one day this fault layd to their charge, for in this latter age god preatcheth abundantly by pen but what myschief these unansweyrd bokes have done god knoweth, & the world begyne to fele. And Sanct Paule wryteth to Timothie, Itaque; obtestor ego in dei conspectu et domini Iesu Christi, qui adventu regnoque, suo vivos et mortuos judicaturus est, publica doctrinam, insta opportune, importune: argue, increpa, cohortare summa cum clementia et doctrina.⁴⁰

And now to say a little of my self that I am of this mind
 Si Christum discis, satis est, si caetera nescis:
 Si caetera discis, nihil est, si Christum nescis.
 Sola salus servire deo, sunt caetera fraudes.⁴¹

The true church whereof Christ is thonely hedd procedith of gods word, persevereth in the same, & hereth no other mans voice.

The sielf save [*sic*, *sc.* 'same'] church maketh no lawes without gods word, therefore are we not otherwyse bounden to mens traditions

³⁷ (*Continued*) after his return to Scotland, receiving a letter from an unnamed minister who wanted separation from the Church of England, ca May 1568. Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England*, 298-300 (and discussed at 229-40). For the debate about the Vestiarian controversy, see P. Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London, 1978), 25-9.

³⁸ '... the force of the word of God ...'.

³⁹ 'Alece' is possibly Lloyd's error for 'Alene'. A spate of books from English Catholics printed in Louvain were published in 1567, including one by Nicholas Sanders, *The Rocke of the Churche Wherin the Primacy of S Peter and of his Successours is Proved* (STC 21692; Milward, p. 12, No. 44), and by William Allen, *A Treatise Made in Defence of the Lawful Power and Authoritie of Priesthod to Remitte Sinnes* (STC 372; Milward, p. 15, No. 57). For the Anglican-Catholic debate, see Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age*, ch. 1.

⁴⁰ 'And so I aver in the sight of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ, who at his advent and in his kingdom is to judge the living and the dead, proclaim the doctrine, be insistent in season and out of season, refute, reproach, exhort with all gentleness and instruction.' The reference is to 2 Tim. iv. 1-2. As is his common practice, Knox is not using any one biblical version. This Latin contains elements from, but not the accepted text of, both the Vulgate and Erasmus's translation.

⁴¹ 'If you learn to know Christ, it is enough, even if you are ignorant of other things. If you learn to know other things, it is nothing, if you are ignorant of Christ. The only deliverance is to know God; other things are deceptions.'

bering the name of the church, but in as mutch as they be consonant to gods word.

Haec omnia scripsi toto pectore totus tuus.⁴²

J.K.

Denbighshire RO, Ruthin, Plas Power MSS DD/
PP/839, pp. 91-2.

John Knox to Christopher Goodman,
Edinburgh, 3 November 1568.

Eighteenth-century copy.

[p. 91]

To his loving brother Christopher Goodman preacher of the holy evangill of Jesus Christ deliver these at Durahm⁴³ or elsewhere in England.

The end of all things draweht neyr.

Trew it is Dear brother that oftar I have groned as weary of my burthen within this twelfmoneht then ever I did all my lief before, but allace how far dos my impatience differ from that godly zeall of the Apostle my awen conscience beares witness. I weary of this miserable lief, but allace not for my sins but for other worldly tryfills: this onely excepted that my hart is peirsed when that I consider how oft god mercifully has heard us in our extremest necessitie, & how lytill we have regarded all his wondrous works wrought amonges us to this day, of better obedience in tymes to cum then I have sein in tymes bipast I cannot be suddandly persuaded. And therefore what I shall desyre I know not but referr life & deaht to the pleaser of my heavenly father upon whose mercy I onely depend. My self I have geven to serve his poore flock in this toun so long as ten of thame will remaine togidder & crave to hear. The principall men as well Papistes as Protestantes have left the town (the magistrates excepted) & so the poor brethren remayne, who twys a day conveyn to the invocation of goddes name & to other godly exercises.⁴⁴ I more wonder that god has granted unto you so long liberte, than I do that ye have enemeis & a strong battell, in the which my heart shall so be that ye

⁴² 'I have written all this, wholly yours with my whole heart.'

⁴³ Goodman was probably visiting his close friend William Whittingham, who was dean of Durham.

⁴⁴ Edinburgh was suffering from the plague, which was first mentioned in the council minutes of 5 October 1568. It had slackened by mid-December and had died out by February 1569, though there was another outbreak in May. M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981), 148 n. 4.

may be strengthened, as I desire my self to be in the like.⁴⁵ I have no less need of your prayers, Dear brother, then he that hourly looks for the message of corporall deaht, god mack me obedient to his holy will, for now I have experience that albeit som tymes we wold be resolved, & so take possession of that immortalitie, yet can it not be without a battel, such agrement thare is betwix the ruinous tabernacle & the spreit that has had

[p. 92]

long (albeit unpleasing) habitation therin. Now brother if it please my god to call me frome this misery before that I shall have the occasion to write to you again rejoyce with me in that, that it hath pleased the mercy of our god to mack us aggre so long in the midst of divers tentations in the simplicitie of his trueth. Your familiaritie hath bein comfortable to me for divers causes, but for non so much as for that uprythnes of judgement which I never did perceive to be corrupted in you for any worldly respectes, in the which integrity I pray god for Christ Jesus his sonnes sake ye may continue to the end. Amen. Yf the mercifull hand of my father please to call me by this pest, then will he disapoint the fearfull threatninges of that cursed Jesabel⁴⁶ & of mo of her flatterers then one or two. Ye wold wonder if ye understood how many latelie ar becumed my enemies & repute me more then mortall enemy to thame, & all because I will not justify thame in this thare devillishe interprise. The hole crimes that I have committed against such as unto whom somtymes I have bein comfortable, & now are so far offended at me that thei cannot conclud whether deaht or banishment shall be greatest torment for me, my holl crimes I say ar contened in this other letter which at the request of some brethren I drew up immediately after the field of Longsyd & caused it to be published in some parts of the west cuntry, becaus I was then appointed commissioner there.⁴⁷ This letter offended more then the known enemies, as the most part of things that come throught my hands do. And therefor I send it unto you that after advisement ye may as opportunitie shall serve signifye unto me my errors & offences. Thus I have troubled you with longer letter then I thought to have done, but not knowing when I shall have the lick opportunity I rather thought to offend my friend then to leave any thing of my awen estate undeclared. And thus with my harty commendations to all the faythfull of acquaintance I committ you to the protection of the omnipotent. Of Edinburcht the 3 of November 1568.

Your loving brother to power in Christ Jesus

Johne Knox

⁴⁵ A reference to Goodman's battles over the vestments issue.

⁴⁶ Knox's accustomed name for Mary, Queen of Scots.

⁴⁷ It has not been possible to identify which work Knox means here because his reference does not fit the first draft of the *Letter to James Tyrie* or the *Order of Excommunication*, both of which Knox was known to have been completing at this time.

Denbighshire RO, Ruthin, Plas Power MSS DD/
PP/839, pp. 92-3.

John Knox to Christopher Goodman,
Edinburgh, 20 May 1569.

Eighteenth-century copy.

[p. 92]

To his loving friend & the faithfull servand of Jesus Christ Mr Christopher Goodman preacher of the blessed gospell of god deliver these.

The end of all thinges temporall approches & therfor we aught to be vigilant.

Beloved brother in our Lord Jesus Christ understanding by your letter that ye ar trubled in a fever I will not truble you with any worldly business, becaus I my self am weary of the world, for in it I perceave no amendement but daily apostasye frome god, & that with blasphemye. The men that somtymes bragged most of religion cannot now hear murthar dampned in preaching nethar yet prayers made to god that it may be punissed, that wicked woman thei will justifie, and yet in the cassell of Edinburcht lye the Duke hereof and other meaner men abiding onely the favours of France or elles support from you, god grant your counsaile wisdom with godliness for ye never in mans remembrance stood in greater danger.⁴⁸ I fear lytill for my self, for I draw to the pytt faster then ye wold believe & yet I cannot but luf the quietness of England because

[p. 93]

that in that realme god hath many faithfull hartes albeit thei be few yf thei be compared with the multitude of the wicked, for the lytill flockes sake, I say, I bear affection to the common tranquillitie, which I am assured shall never continew where that wicked woman has power to command. The papistes with us brag much of the favours that she has of the holl cuntry where she is, but principally of the favours & first of the Duke of Norhtfolk.⁴⁹ Yf I war acquainted with him I wold give him plaine advertisement that if he follow furht the purpose wherewith he is bruted, that as assuredlie as god lyveht he & his assistants shall perishe, what fors soever thei appear to have before men, for a like abominable before god is he that justifieht the wicked & comdempneht the innocent, & yf ever there was more wickednes in one woman then has burst

⁴⁸ The 'wicked woman' is Mary, Queen of Scots; 'the Duke' is the duke of Châtellerault, who was supporting the Queen's party.

⁴⁹ The reference is to the rumour of a proposed marriage between Queen Mary and Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, which the Queen's party was advocating.

furht in hyr (besides that which yet lurks) with whom it is said he wold joyne let hyr lief speak. Yf repentance be pretended, I demand the signes therof. Yf thei alledge, god searches the heart, I confess, but to that I add, that where god touches the heart with unfeaned re repentance it shewes the self visibly to men, principally when the crimes ar so notorious. To trouble my self nor you no longer, brother, with hyr nor with her impieties, I pray god to preserve both the realmes from that vengeance which her abominations continually crave before god. Conscii ejusdem sceleris⁵⁰ with us trouble the estat of all things heyr, lest that yf the ayre was calm & clear thare faces shuld be sein to be blotted with blood, which misty & troubled dark wedther hydes for a seasson, but god will revealle in tyme opportune. It has not so prosperously succeeded with your freende⁵¹ in this countrey (as he himself can schew) as we both wold have wissed, but I praise god it is no worse. My yockfellow who now has weyned hyr second doughter saluteht you & so do I, and she both as unknown in the flesch yours & others faithfull rest in Christ Jesus. Of Edinbrught this 20 of May 1569.

Yours, brother, in Christ Jesus

Johne Knox.

⁵⁰ '... our knowledge of her wickedness ...'.

⁵¹ The identity of Goodman's friend is not known.

APPENDIX C

Denbighshire RO, Ruthin, Plas Power MSS DD/
PP/839, pp. 123-4.

Richard Bannatyne to Christopher Goodman,
St Andrews, 17 July 1572.

Eighteenth-century copy.

[p. 123]

To the right hon<ora>ble & his especiall in the Lord Mr Christo-
pher Goodman Minister of Jesus Christ his holy Evangill in
England.⁵²

The continuall assistance of godes holy Spirit be multiplyed with
yow & all those that unfeynedlie feight against the power of Sathan,
now more furiously rageing then at any tyme before becaus he
knoweth his tyme to be short.

Albeit (ry<ch>t Ry<ch>t [*sic*] honorable & myne espetiall in the Lord) I
have not writtin unto yow these foure yeares almost: yet in
consideration of the tyme my gud hope is ye will not imput it unto any
unkyndnes nor forgetfulnes of that deuty with which alwayes I am bound
unto yow, for I had rather offend in absteinyng from wryting then that I
sould be a more truble to yow bye meanes of my lettres which when I
consider that I have not been, it is to me no small comfort in respect of
this troublesome tyme, which unto me hath bene sich, that sence I wrett
unto yow frome the toun of Ayre with your cousing W<illi>ame [?] your
sisters sonne⁵³ at quhat tyme our Josias (the first regent)⁵⁴ went into
England (which wes in September 1568) I have not sene the town of
Ayre nor my mother till this last Juun, whilk troubles now present begane
at that tyme & were brewing then, as sumwhat I leit yow know be that my
letter at that tyme, if ye can remember, but allace to many have drunken
of that broust sence, & mo than ye will beleve. Of Gentillmen I will say
nothing but when sich as sould be the guydes & lanteris to otheres salbe
infected be the persuation of the wicked, what sall becum of the pure &
simple ones, for this is the bosting of the troubles of this commonwealth &
his pure within the same: We have as many minsters on our syde as ye
have on yours. This I say is a a more truble to the godlye heir then is the
present truble, altho<ugh>t the lyk wes never in our dayes within this

⁵² Goodman was in London facing the Ecclesiastical Commission.

⁵³ It is just conceivable that the person mentioned here is the young William Aldersey, who was to inherit Goodman's library in 1603.

⁵⁴ Regent Moray.

realme. Gyf sich as pretendes the upryt action wer trew indeid this matter (I am assured) had not at this tyme to have bene ended. But the maist parte lucks for their awin particulares & not to the commone proffit, & so the upryt & trew mynded sufferes the dammage in the mean tyme. In the begyning we tho<ch> to have had support from yow, but now the godly ar dispared of any comfort that way: yea it has bene publictlye spoken that so lang as men trusted to the broken reid of Egipt they should feill it to be a reid in deid.⁵⁵ Whilk we have felt & daylie seis mare & mare thereof. Yea it is planelie spoken yf that the Castell of Edinburgh had not bene supportit out of England they had not bene able to have done as thay have done. I dar not say I am assured heiroyf, but I beleve it to be over trew. I will not wryt what I know, neither truble yow farther with these matters whilk I am persuaded troubles yow & all godlye heartes. Your broder my Master⁵⁶ daylie decayes in naturall strenth who altho<ugh> his bodye be weak yet his battell & feght is no les now in his infirmitye of bodie against the faction of the Castell of Edinburgh then it wes in the begyning against the Papists & especially against the wicked in this toun of St Andrew. Sant Leonardes colledge remanes as ye left them upryt & trew, for the whilk they ar heated with the other twa colleges, & yet no man wilbe mare earnest fra the teith fordwart then they, but ther is none so pernicious as a dissembled Enemye. There wes a letter written to yow from the generall assemblie that was last holden at Streveling before my Lord of Levenox slaughter in that town desyring you to have cumen into this cuntrie; but I hard no word by any of your letters hether of your recept therof. The godly within this realme earnestly wysch for your presence heir & to remane: & especially becaus of your brotheres weaknes whome quhen god sall tak away the lyt of this realme (be apperance) salbe quenched for a quhyle, sic is the corruption begyning heir. And therefore they wald have yow to supplye his rowme,⁵⁷ for if misorder in the Kirk & abuses creipes us when their is ane that still cryes against it, how fast sall it grow when the cryer shall be taken away? A<l>though our truble be great for the present, many fear that your countrie shall feill the dregges yea & drink it, whereof we have gotten the begyning. Although ther cum Agents & Embassadors from both England & Scotland, yet we lyk none of thame except Mr Randolph, whom

[p. 124]

I am assured is upryt with the righteous & remanes the ould man,⁵⁸ to whom if ye sall make my hartye commendations of service ye shall do me singular pleasur. Amonges many things that agreif my heart in these troublesom dayes ther is one which I man nedes lay out unto yow which is

⁵⁵ This biblical image, from 2 Kings xviii. 21 and Isaiah xxxvi. 6, was often used by Knox, and his words are possibly meant here.

⁵⁶ John Knox.

⁵⁷ There is no mention of a letter from the General Assembly to Goodman in *BUK*, but this seems part of a concerted effort to get Goodman to return to Scotland; see above.

⁵⁸ Thomas Randolph, who had a long series of embassies in Scotland.

this. Your broder my Master hath begonne an historie of the progresse of the r<icht> [?] religion within this cuntrie as ye know but allace he is now so feabled & weak that he may not wryte: Yea he hes gevin it over, so that he dois nathing therein, notwithstanding that I still urge him to the same. And so he sall leave that work as a thing manked & sall never answer to the expectation that men hes of it. Therfor yf ye wald put him in mynd therof be wryte to mak an end of that he hes alredie done & to desyre some other to put ther hand to the pen that thir dayes & the doinges therof perish not in oblivion I think ye sould do welle. I have send yow an answer of his to ane letter of a Jesuite newlie prented, which by reding ye will know.⁵⁹ Johne Munfode departit this town the same verie day that I cam to it, whether he cumes to yow or no I am uncertain, but he is boun to Ayre.⁶⁰ Now Sir I have trubled yow with my vane wryting thus far desyring quhen ye send any hether that I may know of your helthe & of your bedfellowes to quhom it will please you mak my harty commendations & to that young man your sisters sonne that wes heir in this cuntrie, with all your family, whome with you I committ to the protection of Almighty god. Of Sant Andrew the 17 of July 1572.

Your's [*sic*] to his power

Richard Bannatyne servand to the man of god John Knox.

[Postscript] He that will live godly in Christ must nedes suffer persecution of the world. And as Esau persecuted Jacob: so I praise god that geveth yow strenth to endure the trubles of this world for well doing, & that of your bischoppes who ar Esaues unto the pure Jacobs of England.⁶¹ They enjoy ther pleasures warldlye, when as pure Jacob is compelled to watch all night with his shepe, but for all their warldlye prosperitie they sall not inherit the blessing of their father Isaac. God be mercifull unto thame & also unto us.

⁵⁹ Knox's *An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuit named Tyrie*, printed in St Andrews by Robert Lekprevik in 1572; *Works*, vi. 479-520.

⁶⁰ Munford has not been identified.

⁶¹ The reference is to the pressure being put on Goodman by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops to retract some of the views he had expressed in his book *How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd* (Geneva, 1558); see above.